[For a sample of Uru language texts with a literal French translation, see 3: Vellard, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 151-169.]

[For an extended French-Uru (Chipaya dialect) word list, and fuller Uru texts, see 2: Métraux, this file, category 116, foreign text, pp. 188-239.]

188 cont. They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

778 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pïčnača		Čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come		let us offer up libation.
Tïča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.
K'ïškina	koka	taki.	
Potato	coca	I give.	
Xpaia (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

/88 cont./
773 a cataclysm which annihilated all of humanity with the exception of the Uro. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanacu melted." The vestiges of the old myth which 773 539 Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

[113]

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de), "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/," Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru. (Lima, 1924), Vol. 8, second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuki	pača	(čamak tiempo)	čoñi	ekanščinnakčai
Former times	former times		people	have remained

tokananakki	estancias		tiksi	ekanastkalačai
people of the others	"estancias"		they died	we have remained

nekatai	ti	čiaki	sisasučai.
then	this	language	we know.

157 [69] /89/ Disposition. In disposition and nature the Uro are as sombre as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy rapacity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians, besides the apathy and that heaviness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly so odious. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the 155 649 Bolivian Indian; the Uro have not escaped the brutalities and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their even

/345 cont./

622 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[803] [805] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial [982] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians [874] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, [873] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu *796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, ● 539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpaču	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanitaʾa,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpač-patruna,	todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukˣaro	todos	mondos	pakˣalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

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/345 cont./

*796 539 loktaña suma ora resibitanta. lo mismo. araspeča.
I give thee good hour receive. Likewise. sky.

pobri wakča wawmat aka wakča. Tatai. istitai
poor orphans children these orphans. Father. bear me

laiku suma tiempo apanitaï'a. San Xeronimo.
for them / good weather send me. Saint Jerome.

"Lord of the sky, send me good weather, good weather, master of the sky (send good weather) for all thy children. Likewise, /346/ Virgin-earth, thou who feedest me, thou wilt receive (these offerings) from all they children, from all the world. (In the name of) all the world, of they children, I give thee these heads of livestock, receive them under good protection. Likewise, o sky, we, poor orphans, are thy sons. Father, bear me on behalf of these orphans, send me good weather, Saint Jerome."

*796 I succeeded in joining a group of Indians who were heading east of the village, going along the line of oratories and chapels of which I have spoken. The women had flowers stuck in their plaits, and one of them was carrying a box which contained a papier-mâché effigy of Saint James on his horse. All, men and women, were holding a long stick topped with a cross surrounded with wool threads of different colors in their hands, and some also had brought their kaman-para, or sacred stick. They proceeded at a rapid pace to the sound of a drum which an old Indian was playing incessantly; I shall refer to him by the name Officiant from here on. It was actually he who carried out the chief rites.

In front of each of the altars which marked the plain in a straight line, the little band made a halt and kneeled down to recite a prayer in chorus. Then all went around the oratory several times on their knees with the exception of the Officiant, who remained in his place, beating frantically on his drum and loudly intoning a monotone Aymara song. Before setting out again, at a given

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/347 cont./

prehistoric necklaces, in each cupule. He did the same with a piece of iron pyrite. His helper put small pieces of gold and silver leaf, small quantities of pink and blue mineral powder, incense, cinnamon bark, white and black maize flour, etc., in each cupule.

The Officiant then planted a cross and his sacred stick facing east and knelt before them. He then began to recite, with eyes half-closed, in a loud and penetrating voice a series of prayers, of which I was able to record the following:

Tata	Santiago.	arapeʔa	Santiago.	kimatunamanani
Father	Santiago.	sky	Santiago.	36

platu	resibise	tarapitaʔa.	sbʰaro	Santo	San Felipe.
dishes	receive	thou wilt receive.	crest	Saint	Saint Philip

sbʰaro	Santo	San	Geronimo.	Santo	Tunguyo(1)	resibe
crest	Saint	Saint	Jerome.	Saint	Tunguyo	receive

[103]

1. Tunguyo is the name of a group of huts where Espíritu Mamani, who recited this prayer to me, lived.

tarapitaʔa	aka inensio.	resibe	tarapitaʔa
thou wilt receive	this incense.	receive	thou wilt receive

todos abogados	arapeʔa.	sumo karpa.	waina (2)	karpa.	
all intercessors.	sky.	good rain.		rain.	

[92]
[93]

2. This word, which always precedes a significant word = "rain," "weather," or "year," has always been translated for me by "good"; I have felt some doubt, however, about the precision of my transcription. Its pronunciation

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/347 cont./

has seemed to me sometimes waisa, sometimes t'axu. In the first case one could relate it to the Kíkan waisa and conjecture that through a strange semantic evolution the word "young" came to mean "good." It is also possible that t'axu is the Uru word for "good," which has today been replaced by the Aymara suma.

ayaxuta'o	t'axu(2)	korpa	arapata'o	hasiru.	hallara
send to me	good	rain	sky	shadow	lagoons of water

2. /Refers to preceding cons./

siriru.	arapata'o	makisuna.	arapata'o	herkiru
snow	sky	engineer	sky	boatmen

/348/ "Sontiago, (our) father, Sontiago of the sky, receive these 36 dishes, next Saint Phillip, next Saint Jerome, next Saint Tunguya, receive them as also this incense. You all who are our intercessors in the sky, send us good rains, shadows of the sky (clouds), lagoons of water and snow, you who are the engineers, the boatmen of the sky."

Taki kimsa	pak'al'a	uywiri	Wirsina.	
All three	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin.	
pa'a	pak'al'a	uywiri	Wirsina.	
large	heads of livestock	foster-mother	Virgin.	
kuimaya uywiri	Wirsina.	'Ina	mama	uywiri.
pig foster-mother	Virgin.	sheep	mother	foster-mother.

/748 cont./

Kimsa-Pata. | lo mismo | kaĉa | mal'ku. | L'auka-mal'ku.
"Three summits." | likewise | great | demon. | Lauca-demon.

Lauka tal'a. | apeyaniri | taki | parwal'a | apeyaniri.
Lauca-demon woman. | who sends | all | the grass | who sends.

lo mismo | rumapekĭsoktanta. | Estewan-mal'ku. | Čunkirini-
likewise | thou wilt receive | Stephen-demon. | Čunkirini-

mal'ku. | katoxtanta | marka-kol'o. | pokara.
demon. | thou wilt receive | country mountains. | demon?.

katoxtanta | Korisančuri-mal'ku. | katoxtanta
thou wilt receive. | Korisančuri-demon. | thou wilt receive

Kemperani-mal'ku. | Kemperani-tal'a. | tunkapeyani
Kemperani-demon. | Kemperani-demon woman. | 12

parwal'a. | todos | parwal'a. | katoxtanta | Kilimint-mal'ku.
grass. | all | grasses | thou wilt receive | Kilimint-demon.

Kilimint-tal'a. | Kustil'er-mal'ku. | marka-kol'o.
Kilimint-demon woman | Kustil'er-demon. | country-mountains.

marka-tal'a | Waxma-mal'ku. | mamita-señov(a)
land female demons. | Waxma-demon. | little mother lady

Sant(a) Ana. | pá | pokarani. | turi | mal'ku | kaĉa | pokara.
Saint Anne. | two | demons(?). | tower | demon | great | demon.

pá | wertani. | mamit(a) | Sant(a) Ana. | pá | kaĉa | kotani.
two | plants. | little mother | Saint Anne. | two | great | lakes.

/348 cont./

*796 539 "Virgin foster mother of all these three kinds of livestock, foster mother of the large livestock (the llamas), foster mother of pigs, foster mother of sheep. (You) the "Three summits," likewise thou, great demon, divine river Lauca, Lauca demon woman, who sends us all our grass, receive (these offerings). Demon Stephen, demon Čunkirini, receive (these offerings), receive them also, mountains of the country, demons, receive (these offerings) and you also, demon Korisančuri, demons Kemperani, male and female, (give us) 12 kinds of grasses, all the grasses, receive (these offerings), demons Kilimint, male and female, demons /349/ Kusil'er, mountains of the country, female divinities, demon Waxma, little-mother, lady Saint Anne, two demons, sacred Tower, great demon, little mother Saint Anne, (give us) the two plants, two great lakes."

*796 Without interrupting his invocations for a single second, with nervous and rapid gestures, as if he were being urged to finish, the Officiant threw in front of him the contents of the cups which his assistant held out to him two by two.

The last cup emptied he got up with two mugs of alcohol in one hand and a pinch of coca in the other and, turning toward the north, he called on all the mal'ku one by one.

*796 539

Čiksa-č'al'a	aka	mal'ku	tal'a
Together let us offer libations	this	demon	female demon

taki	takpača	L'auka-mal'ku	Saxama-mal'ku	Čunkirini
for	all	sacred Lauca	sacred Sajama	Čunkirini-

mal'ku	son	mal'ku	ilxpax	Estewan	mal'ku	turi-mal'ku
demon	are	greatest	demons	Stephen	demon	sacred tower

son	marka	mal'ku.
are	country	demons.

/349 cont./

*796 539 "Let us together offer up a libation to the male and female demons, to all, to the sacred Lauca River, to the sacred Sajama, to the demon Cunkirini. The greatest demons are Stephen and the sacred tower. They are the demons of the country."

He sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the ground and threw his handful of coca leaves to the wind. He did the same looking to the south. Then he knelt again before the cross to begin again all his prayers accompanied this time by libations of alcohol and offerings of coca; the act was attended by the following formula:

Mal'ku	tapa	tal'a	Virxina	pawartasă.
Demons	all	woman demon	Virgin	I throw some coca.

Before getting up again he addressed himself to the Pachamama in these words:

Paca-mama,	wirxin,	taika	mama,	xuma	uyuwaskista.
Pachamama,	Virgin,	earth	mother,	thou	thou makest

grow for me (thou feedest me).

"Pachamama, Virgin, mother of the earth, it is thou who makest the plants grow for me, it is thou who feeds me."

*796 He ended this last invocation by kissing the earth with a strange fervor.

/350/ During the entire duration of this ceremony, men and women had approached the cross one after the other and knelt near it, fumigating it by blowing on the embers of their censers.

*796 576 All then reassembled in the little enclosure attached to the chapel and the festival properly so called began. There were interminable exchanges of civilities which lasted almost until evening. The Indians accosted each other and bowed, with hat off, knee on the ground, and with a circular motion of the arms as if they wanted to press the man or the woman to whom they were

U /350 cont./
*796 making these signs of respect to their breast. Some made a pre-
576 tense of kissing the wrist of those who inspired them with a special feeling of respect. Each of these embraces was accompanied with the word tatai or mamai, according to whether they were addressed to a man or to a woman, said in a plaintive tone. They were answered with the same suffering murmur. While engaging in these manifestations of courtesy from time to time, the participants exchanged their bags of coca and offered each other mugs of alcohol (1). The one who invited another to drink would indicate,

A
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576

1. These rites of courtesy certainly date from pre-Columbian times. They were observed among the Aymara in the sixteenth century: Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 72: "and for this operation they gather in groups in special houses, dancing with drums and dull instruments; and it is customary that none of these Indians ever drinks this drink alone, but all hold their drinking vessels in pairs, and one having drunk from one of the said vessels has to give his companion a drink from the other." /Cited in Spanish./

U
*796 by means of a hallowed formula, the name of the saint to whom he
●539 wished the libation to be offered up. The person thus favored had
576 to sprinkle a few drops of the precious liquid on the ground and address a prayer to the saint who had been named, in which he requested prosperity and the increase of the flocks.

Here are some examples of these formulas: "San Xeronimištan čuta, San Mikelištan čuta, San Filipištan čuta, Antonio tatašan

/350 cont./

*796 ●539 596 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'auka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakˣal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 [554] The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpača	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo	
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather	
aka	mara	taki	čuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki			
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for			
kaura-kal'u,	kuči-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakˣal'a				
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock				
nasimiento	taki.						
birth	for						

/351 cont./

*796 [539] "Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs, (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censor or light a handful of khoa beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Saxama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-xuna-Saxama, L'auka mal'ku).

[273] As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al'a burst out at the slightest opportunity.

[796] They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

[539]

Taki	čulma	č'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara kičur(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

/353 cont./

*798 *796 Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal or khoa were burning under their noses.

[782] Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (k^{x}uli l'umpaka) and black (tsox k^{x}uli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which [823] he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg.

*798 *796 He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations to the Paǰa-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

539

Werxina	unto-k^{x}al'u	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise

parwal'a	am	amura	tunčis	am	amuraǰa.
grass	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grass which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) that which thou lovest."

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/354 cont./

*778	Werxina	yu(u)wiri	t'apa	čivi	kʷal'u	tanšni	tija
*796	Virgin	foster mother	all	white	pellet	take	this
539							

amura	hasiki	šskatoktišina	t'apa	čivi	kʷal'u.
love	in this moment	receive	all	white	pellet.

"Foster-mother Virgin, take this white pellet of fat which thou lovest. In this moment receive this white pellet of fat."

*778 *796 During this part of the ceremony his helper spread a napkin in front of the cellar on which he set out 36 small mugs filled with water; then the Officiant prepared the libation (1). He began

1. On the day of the festival of Kemperani-mal'ku I observed several variants in the preparation of the čʿal'a. Here they are: the yatiri rubbed the first two cupules of the first row with a blackish stone, which he deposited beside the second mug, and did likewise with the two following, but this time with a reddish stone, which he placed after the fourth. The bottoms of the two latter were also rubbed with a greyish stone, which he left on the rug. The Officiant then proceeded to do the same operation with beads from stone necklaces of pre-Columbian origin. After having grated the bottom of a mug with one of these beads, he took another of them and followed suit until all the beads of the necklace had soaked in the cupules full of water.

/357 cont./

*1778 *1796 824 alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35, A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (k^{x}oka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks.

*1778 *1796 On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly

● [539] [231] accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Haĉa	pak^{x}al'a	samiri	kulumayo	pak^{x}al'a	samiri	kon
Large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pak^{x}al'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

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/358 cont./

*798 *796 Several women came to add new tufts of red wool to the samiri, so much that the stones finally were no longer visible.

[296] At the same time the rest of the assembly drank, chewed coca, and exchanged the usual civilities.

Then several handfuls of khoa were lighted; they burned on the place of sacrifice all day.

[252] While these ceremonies were under way, several men and young girls were busying themselves at the side with the cooking. The victims were cut up, their bones crushed with a stone, and the entrails boiled in large receptacles of tin. Once cooked pieces [264] were carried to the assembled people in large clay dishes and distributed through the efforts of the Officiant, who first of all threw a few slices destined for the spirits and demons to the four cardinal points as if to mark the formula then uttered:

● [539]

hal'pa	tija	mal'ku	resevita
pieces	these	demons	receive

"Demons, receive these pieces."

[296] This preliminary meal ended all began to drink and chew [533] coca again. From time to time the Officiant took one of the horns placed in front of the sheaves and drew muffled and distant sounds from it. He or some other qualified person recited rapid prayers *798 *796 without interruption, in which the names of the saints and of the 539 mal'ku were closely bound together. Here is one of them:

Haču-pakʸal'a-samiri			samanta
Samiri of the large livestock (llamas)			thou wilt stay
kulumay(u)-samiri	/359/	samanta	čʸital'a-samiri
samiri of the pigs		thou wilt rest	samiri of the sheep
samanta	hani-hewtiri		patakwaranka
thou wilt rest	in order not to die		hundred thousand (years?)

/359 cont./

*778 *796 539

samanta taki pilu samanta. Mal'ku, pokara
thou wilt rest all wool thou wilt rest. Demon, demon

Korisančuri-mal'ku hiča kumplusmawa.
Korisancuri-demon now I have acquitted myself.

Kimsa pakʸal'a loktitánta kasisposa
Three kinds of livestock thou wilt give me married people

saluro maitanta. Pasiensia-amta, pasiensia
health thou wilt give me. Patience thought, patience

rixta suma čuyma suma korasón, suma
righteous good heart good heart, good

loktitanta todos mal'kunaka suma amta
thou wilt give me all the demons good thoughts

(čura)nipxitata (?) todos santos y santas kurixo
you will give me (?) all male and female saints always

mantamiento loktital'a. (i)yawsital'a, huma araxpača,
nourishment give. Accept me, thou sky

wirxin-taika (i)yawsital'a palxayatalaiku,
Virgin-earth concede it to me by that which has been said,

(i)yawsital'a ma pori wawa laikusa. (i)yawsital'a
concede it to me a poor child for that. Accept me

ma wawa-wakča wawa-matulaiku. (i)yawsital'a
an orphan child son for. Give it to me

/359 cont./

San Sebastian alto kalo yatunka parwal'a bbrrrrr
St. Sebastian high generous nine grasses bbrrrrr

patakawaranka surti mal'ku surti tal'a
hundred thousand fortunes demon fortune female demon

todas kumpañas saluru bbrrr hayankiri
all the gatherings health bbrr those who are far,

hakankíri todös saludos, taki kumpaña
those who are near all safety. all the gathering

pak^xal'a saluru surti mal'ku, mal'ku surti.
flock health good fortune demon, demon luck.

tal'a saluru brrr.
female demon health brrr.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llama), thou wilt stay here, samiri of the pigs, thou wilt stay here, samiri of the sheep, thou wilt stay here so as not to die. Thou wilt stay here a hundred times a thousand (years). Thou wilt stay here covered with wool. You will stay here, you, demon, you pokara, Korisanˇuri-demon; now I have acquitted myself with these three head of livestock, thou wilt give health to married people, thou wilt give me a patient mind, a righteous mind, a good heart, thou wilt give it to me. You, all the demons, give me good thoughts. Male and female saints, give me always something to eat. Show favor to me, thou, sky, Virgin-earth, be favorable to me for that which has been said, for that be favorable to me. I am a poor child, /360/ be favorable to me, I am an orphan, I am thy son, for that be favorable to me, Saint Sebastian, high, generous, give us nine grasses brrr, 100,000 fortunes, demon, female demon, give health to all the gathering,

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*1098 to those who are near, to those who are far away, health to all,
*1096 to those who are there, health, luck to the herds and flocks, demon,
539 female demon, health, fortune, brrr."

Others contented themselves with enumerating in a loud voice the various types of vegetation that grow in Chipaya and assure the life of the flocks and, indirectly, that of the Čipaya: "Lurumpa-parwal'a, kolča-parwal'a, lumča-parwal'a, čunka-parwal'a, skawri-parwal'a, kapara-parwal'a, uśku-parwal'a, awa-parwal'a, waila-parwal'a, tola-parwal'a, wiču-parwal'a, kora-parwal'a, l'apa-parwal'a, kaču-parwal'a."

*1098 These recitations were interrupted by imitations of the noise
*1096 of the wind which various people did by making their lips vibrate rapidly. From time to time some Indian would detach himself from the group to go offer a libation to the samiri or to offer them coca.

Toward the middle of the afternoon some women took out some boxes of quinua from their shawls, took them in their arms and went with them to kneel down facing the east and to pray for a rather long time. When they had finished they offered their boxes to the alferez and his wife, who thanked them and tied the stalks of quinua to the sheaves of straw.

This rite, the magico-religious significance of which is obvious, was followed by another, the character of which is no less apparent. The alferez wife, taking a handful of maize kernels in her mantle, showered them on the assembly, crying out: "They will sprout well, luck, luck," or: "Wefã, bindišiuna, hača pakčal'a, bindišiuna, kulumayo, bindišiuna, čital'a." — "Offering, benediction, large livestock (llamas), benediction, pigs, benediction, sheep," and all rushed to gather them in the midst of general confusion. The slightest kernel was carefully kept as a relic.

[533] The musicians, who up to this point had only made themselves heard at rare intervals, began to appear more active.

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*708 *796 [596] repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any [273] [154] particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

*708 *796 262 514 Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuño (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking boullion were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

*708 *796 Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

● [539] At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

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Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki	
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now	
katokta		suma		katoktaki ya.		
you have received		well		you have received.		

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

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this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of Zuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1).
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

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xal'al'a	L'auca,	wasi	ʧoksã,	awiatori,	maitiñi,
hallelujah	Lauca,	?	?	shepherd,	he who grants,

Saxama	mal'ku,	ʧep-pakˣal'a,	awianta,	
Sajama	demon,	three kinds of livestock,	make graze,	

Sikwanku (2).	Paʧata (3).	Turi-mal'ku,	t'apa	pokara,
Little bench,	Pachata (3)	Tower-demon,	all	demons,

[03]

2. Sikwanku: "chico banco" "little bench." Name of a mountain which is visible from Chipaya.

3. Summits visible from Chipaya.

L'auka-mal'ku,	Maria	tokatoka	Mama sapo,	Tata-sapo,	
Lauca-demon,	Mary	toad	mama toad,	father toad,	

uruisapo,	Sinata,	Pumari (3)	/see above/	mara
to create for,	?	Pumari		year

aka	paʧa	arax-paʧa.	mamita	Santa-Ana,	Samiri.
this	time	sky.	mama	Saint Anne,	Samiri.

"Demon Kant, demon Kusil'er, demon Kilimint, Kusil'aviri, let graze, mountains of the country, demon Kemperan, demon Stephen, hallelujah, Lauca river, ??, thou who makest graze, thou who grantest, demon Sajama, we the three kinds of livestock of our herds, Mount Sikwanku, Mount Pachata, Demon Tower, divine Lauca, Mary toad, mama toad, father toad, create for us, Sinata, Pumari, grant us a new year like this one, you, sky, Mama Saint Anne, Samiri."

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The prayer which recurred most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Estewan-mal'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Estewan-mal'ku	hasiki	am	kumpla	tonuja
Stephen demon	in this moment	thou	to accomplish	I have

ti	pak al'istan	pak al'a	cep-laiku
come	these heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for

kasit	esposa	sahut-laiku	hasiki
married-spouses		heath for	in this moment

kumplataja /374/	hasiki	t'apa	kumpaña
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly

tonx-tuñi	kumpltuja	am-ki	mal'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty, at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the samiri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the alferez and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the alferez and alfereza both had a truss of straw on the back.

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The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferes held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferes, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (manta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ibina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantiña	/375/	taxatiña	maiñi	hoibi
east of		west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayi'u	kumplatuja	noxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

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//3Th cont.//

kompeta	kompeti-inan	tsap	pasᵊai-pako
accompany	company with	three	heads of livestock in order to

kompianᵊa	pasᵊai's	hanihi
they acquit themselves	head of livestock	at this moment

matsinankiᵊa	para simpre	kompitisanpa.
grant us	forever	to be acquitted.

"Dennen Kemperani, thou who lookest at the two clans which are behind thee. Today the two clans have come to be acquitted before thee, that of the east and that of the west. All of these accompany me, they come in this moment to acquit themselves on behalf of the three kinds of animals. Grant us in this moment flocks, so that we may always acquit ourselves before thee."

The Cunkirini-mai'ku is the last of the cones of earth for which a festival is performed during the year by the seya tsoats. Also this festival is clothed with a brilliance and solemnity which make it the most perfect expression of the ceremonies and pagan rites preserved by the Cipaya. The alferes of the preceding festivals come to it, carrying their straw trunks hung with garlands on their backs, and they set up small improvised altars all around the Cunkirini-mai'ku as if they were going to exercise their forever role. The cone of earth is covered with garlands of fruit, bread rings, cheeses, and emerges red with blood above the bunches of straw and the groups of Indians squatting around it. The numerous prayers which are uttered on this day are pleas for the assistance and generosity of the demons and saints of the tribe. The Cunkirini-mai'ku, whose "anniversary" is being celebrated, is naturally the most often invoked. It is implored in the following terms:

Cunkirini-mai'ku	hanihi	an	kompli
Cunkirini-demon	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

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umuñ	paᵐpaiʼañan	humpiamñ	uuu-ndi	
I have come	heads of livestock with	I acquit myself	today	

Yep	paᵐpaiʼa	paiaramñ	ana	inahaya
three	heads of livestock	are placed	not	in vain

Tatai	Mamai	niwinaqa	hañi	maiñiñañ
Father	Mother	to serve for	in this moment	grant me

ñaya	humpañan.
all	assembly with.

"Dennen Cumbirini, I have come in this hour, to acquit myself towards thee with these animals. I acquit myself today with these three head of livestock who are placed (before thee) — that this be not in vain — /775/ to serve thee, father, mother, in this hour, hearken to me and to all those who accompany me."

In contrast to the previous festival, which took place at the foot of this same cone of earth, a sort of cellar hewned at its base was opened this time, and various offerings, half-rotten, and a bottle of alcohol were taken out, the latter of which the Officiant and his helpers piously drank. It is necessary to add that the bottle was then refilled and that fresh magical substances and provisions replaced those which were thrown out.

The Indians used the occasion to go prostrate themselves in front of another cone, a real dwarf beside its congeners, for it was hardly 50 centimeters high. Perhaps this miniature mal'ku is the protector of children, for the corregidor of the tribe offered it a sheep in the name of his three-year-old son.

Prayers to the Kilimuntu-mal'ku and to the Kusi'awari-mal'ku. The Aymara Anacleto Mollu dictated two more prayers to me, one addressed to the Kilimuntu-mal'ku and the other to the Kusi'awari-mal'ku. These two cones of earth stand on tasaña territory, and their worship is reserved for this ayllu. I was not able to attend the

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ceremonies of which they were the object, for they were performed at the same time as those in which I took part at tuanta in honor of the mal'ku of that saya. It is highly unlikely that the rites in the two sections differ; in any case, the prayers, judging from those which I am giving here, are of the same type:

Kilimemo-mal'ku,	hasiki	am	kumpli
Kilimemo-demon,	in this moment	thee	to acquit myself

tonuja	ti	ʧep	pakʷal'litan	palantasuja
I have come	these	three	head of livestock	are placed

pakʷal'-laiku	ti	kasat-ispo-laiku	ana	ina-hapa-ki	
herds for	these	married spouses for	not	in vain	

Tatai	Mamal,	serwishapa	t'apa	kumpaña.
Father	Mother,	to serve for	all	assembly.

"Demon Kilimemo, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals who are placed in front of thee, on behalf of the herds and the married people. That this be not in vain, Father, Mother, that all those who accompany me (are come) to serve thee."

Konil'awari-mal'ku,	tal'a	hasiki	am
Konil'awari-demon	female-demon	in this moment	thee

kumpla	tonuja	tun-čis	samča	tonxiki	
to acquit myself	I have come	today	anniversary	today	

ʧep	pakʷal'litan	tonuja	pakʷal'laiku
three	head of livestock with	I have come	herds on behalf

salut-laiku	t'apa	kumpaña	kumpinuja	tonx-tuñi.
health for	all	the assembly	acquits itself	today.

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*1178 *796 ● 539 "Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

[782] In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awiaturu	awitiškal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakčal'a	awitiška	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiška.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed, Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

*796 23 236 Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya taxata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled [532] up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

527 /380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and
578 exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations
833 to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.
1171

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and
1178 were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

527 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-
782 mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of
996 this sacrifice:
539

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	šmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	šmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol.
1080 Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

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592 The number of spirits which rule over a household may be
342 even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I
*978 recorded among the Čipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

342 Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which re-
[171] cur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara.
[982] There is no Čipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears
[574] traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided
342 him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up
982 many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits,
539 that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

Ačokžal'a	kžoya	kamantaika	suma	hašk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantil'a (1) kžoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

[192] /383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Čipaya, Aymara, and Kičua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

*708 The titi-mal'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns
782 home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the
[221] number of titi-mal'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

/383 cont./

*778 782 been able to be present at this intimate ceremony if my neighbors in the saya tuanta had not just made a sacrifice to their stuffed cat upon their return after a prolonged absence. They began by choosing a splendid white sheep from their flock, which they decorated with red pompoms and stretched in front of the door of their hut, its head toward the east. Next to him they placed a small tablecloth which they covered with coca leaves. They let fall several drops of alcohol and several pinches of coca on this [539] victim and uttered the following formula:

Mal'ku patio	titi-mal'ku	suma	katosimal'a
Spirit (of the) patio	sacred cat	well	receive very much

vila.
blood.

The Indian's two huts were sprinkled inside and out with the blood of the slaughtered sheep, and the last gush which poured from his severed artery was thrown eastward with a prayer to the demons, to the Earth-mother, and to the saints.

*778 The titi-mal'ku occupied the place of honor inside the hut. It was decorated with a festive sling wrapped around its body; red pompoms hung from its ears and a bag had been hung from its neck. I made a list of the contents of the latter: besides coca there was a small bottle of alcohol, various magical substances such as colored mineral powders, fetish money (il'a), a stone calcareous in nature, and lastly a dried pear and an orange peel.

*778 782 A bowl full of blood was offered to the titi-mal'ku and near it was put a napkin covered with coca leaves which the neighbors came to renew. The owner and his wife sat near their titi-mal'ku to do homage to him with a small private ceremony in which they were the only ones to participate, but which soon attracted several interested visitors. With each libation, before drinking, they turned toward the wildcat so that he could not

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doubt the homage being paid him. Each offering was accompanied with this phrase:

Titi-mal'ku	suma	resiba-tamal'a	hiča	xunlu
Sacred cat	good	receive very much	now	together

vila	amora.
blood	love.

/384/ "Sacred cat receive this in abundance, now at the same time as this blood which we offer thee with love."

At the moment when the drinking cup was emptied, it was proper to cry "xal'al'a" (hallelujah).

In each Čipaya hut without exception one notices several poles of palm wood with a hole for hanging fastened to the wall facing the door. I did not find out the exact nature of these pieces of wood, nor the character which the Čipaya attributed to them. They give them the half-Aymara, half-Spanish name of kamana-para (house stick). During the great public festivals the magician goes toward the place of the ceremony armed with one of these sticks and plants it infront of himself before offering either a sacrifice or a libation. Sometimes the sheaves of sacred straw are attached around these sticks. One day I saw the Indians burn incense in front of their kamana-para, and they assured me that before Carnival and the festival of the Conception they sacrifice a sheep to it. I do not know if it is on this occasion or when a sheep is killed for the demon of the patio that the long prayer is recited which a Čipaya dictated to me when I questioned him on such family worship:

Takpača	(wawanataki)	xukalañaka	kˣoka	hača
All	child for	plant	cactus	large

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*778 782 539

pakχal'a	kulumayu	pakχal'a	kon	usita	pakχal'a
herd	pig	herd	with	sheep	herd

haĉa	pakχal'a	maitarapita	kamana	katoktarapita
large	herd	let me have	house	thou wilt receive

akel	mal'ku	mama	mal'ku	pati-sitio	kimsa
this	demon	mother	demon	patio place	three

pakχal'a	nasimiento	humakatoktanta.
herds	births	thou wilt receive.

"Let me have, for us thy children, plants (?), large cacti, pigs with sheep and large livestock (llamas), let me have it, thou shed (where the mal'ku stays), thou kitchen of the house. Thou wilt receive as an offering the young of the three kinds of animals, thou spirit, thou mother spirit, thou court (demon of the court)."

782 One afternoon when I had gone to visit my friend Anacleto Mullu, I found him in the process of offering up libations in the company of his nephew and his wife. They had placed a censer in front of them and held out the two twin drinking cups to each other, part of the contents of which they poured out, reciting a prayer on the invitation of and under the direction of the yatiri. Insofar as I could understand the meaning of their mournful pleas, they must have been addressed to the sacred sticks of the hut and to the protecting spirit /385/ of the house, who were asked to make the grass of the fields grow and to make rain fall on the bare Chipaya plains.

Here are a few bits of the prayers they recited that day that I was able to snatch on the wing:

[539]

Verxina	ĉal'anta	uyuwiri	Araxpâĉa
Virgin	I shall offer a libation	foster mother	Sky

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782 539	karpa	marka	kol'u	uyuwiri	Virxina	Mamita
	rain	country	mountains	foster mother	Virgin	Mama

Rosario,	palta	šenekina	benitnis	te	k'anasa	kanavita.
Rosary,	speak	us	bless		light	?

"Virgin, foster mother, I shall offer thee a libation, (give us) the rain of the Sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin, Mama Rosary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

782 In another hut on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Čipaya burned a little khoa at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. [777] They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

The Samiri of the sheepfold.

*778 *796 In the company of Anacleto Mullu I was invited to attend the burying of a samiri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the yatiri upon arriving at the places was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep [782] decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of coca and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The yatiri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

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[For an analysis of Uru language texts consisting of a free translation, a cultural commentary, and linguistic notes, see category 116, pp. 7-27.]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Ṫuintatiṫo* (= Aymara *Ṫunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-maḷku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *maḷku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-maḷku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprizingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

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We the Kjotsuñi [*q'otʒoñi*, from Aymará *q'ota*, "lake", and Uru *ʒoñi*, "men people"][1] are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [*kučo*, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Čamak-pača* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes. Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *čauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *čatu-likščai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa;* a comet is called *mekala* (from the Aymará).

[1] Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *ʒ* is lacking in Aymará.